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*Embracing Global Transformation:
Collaborative Innovations through
Social and Political Research*

7-8th September
2022



ISSN 2593-7650

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON INDOONESIAN SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL
ENQUIRIES 2022

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Faculty of Social Science and Political Science
Universitas Diponegoro

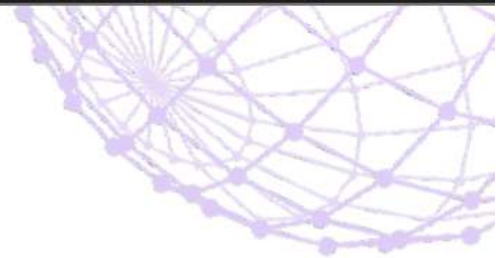
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“Embracing Global Transformation: Collaborative Innovations through Social and
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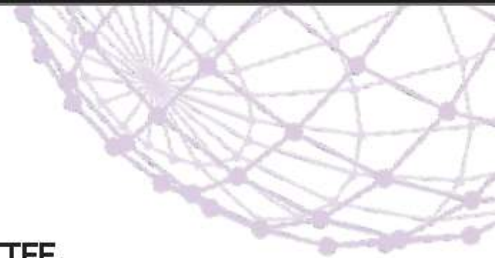
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The 7th ICISPE International Conference on Indonesian Social and Political Enquiries

"Embracing Global Transformation: Collaborative Innovations through Social and Political
Research
September 7th- 8th 2022


FOREWORD



Research should be a valuable tool for finding solutions to existing problems faced by a country. This belief is reflected to ICISPE 2022 conference. Our world is constantly being challenged by global, massive, and fast changes, starting from the development of the digital era which causes disruption in all aspects of the industry until the world suddenly stops due to the Covid-19 pandemic. But humans continue to show their ability to overcome all these problems by implementing new ideas so that problems can become opportunities. Collaboration in innovation is the key to success in the connected era. We realize that we cannot work alone, we need help from others to achieve the objectives quickly and effectively. Therefore this year's ICISPE is here to accommodate collaborative innovation ideas from various parties to accept the ongoing global transformation.

The 7th ICISPE Proceeding is a summary of the research results presented at the 2022 ICISPE Conference by academics and researchers. This activity was carried out with the cooperation of all committee members at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro. Carrying the theme "*Embracing Global Transformation: Collaborative Innovations through Social and Political Research*", this conference was held on 7th -8th September 2022 at the Orange Faculty of Social Sciences Campus.

Over 50 articles were submitted, this year we received some collaborative works of Indonesian authors and some authors from Russia, The Philippines, Germany, Malaysia and China. All were reviewed and refined to meet scientific work standards. We hope that the articles published through this conference will contribute to the improvement and development of society in various social aspects. We would like to thank all the speakers, writers, participants, reviewers, and committee members for their contributions to this conference.



On behalf of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro, we would like to thank all speakers, writers, participants, reviewers, and committee members for this conference.

Semarang, 8 September 2022
Dean of Social and Political Sciences Faculty
Universitas Diponegoro

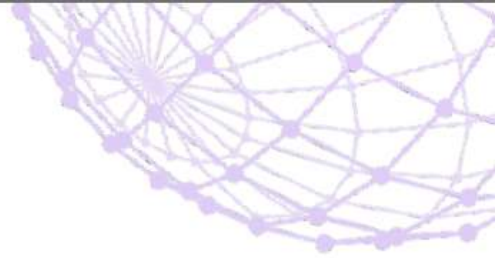
Dr. Hardi Warsono, MTP



Table of Contents

Category : Local Government

1. Understanding Disability Policy: Study in Kampar District, Indonesia 2
Steven Antony, Auradian Marta, Baskoro Wicaksono, Iqbal Miftakhul Mujtahid, Musa Thahir
2. Analysis of The "Service Triangle Model" in The Development of User-Oriented Public Services at DPMPTSP Semarang Regency 9
Aufarul Marom, Herbasuki Nurcahyanto
3. Vote Buying: The Practice of Support Mobilization on Head Village Election 18
Dewi Erowati, Puji Astuti, Turtiantoro
4. The Neutrality of Village Heads on The 2020 Simultaneous Local Elections in Demak Regency 24
Nunik Retno Herawati , Fitriyah, Neny Marlina
5. Challenges and Obstacles KPU in The Use Of Erekap in The 2024 General Elections 29
Fitriyah, Nunik Retno Herawati, Ratna Herawati
6. Electronic-Based Local Government System 34
Teguh Yuwono, Dzumuwanus Ghulam Manar, Laila Kholid Alfirdaus
7. Governing Community Based Tourism During Covid19 Pandemic in Central Java 40
Retna Hanani, Amni Zarkasyi Rahman
8. Implementation of Waste Management Policy to Realize Sustainable Development (Case Study: Silopah Program in Semarang Regency) 46
Supratiwi, Yuwanto, Kushandajani
9. Jokowi and Rumors of PKI on Presidential Election 2019 51
Triyono Lukmantoro and Nurul Hasfi



Category : The Economy and People Development Category

10. Dissemination of Information and Community Participation in The Development of Cultural Villages in Sumberwungu Kapenewon Tepus, Gunungkidul Regency 58
Joyo Nur Suryanto Gono; Wiwid Noor Rakhmad
11. Community Empowerment in Mangrove Conservation in The Coastal Area of Kertomulyo Village, Pati Regency, Indonesia 65
Nina Widowati, Hardi Wardono, Kismartini, Irfan Murtadho
12. Kudu Sekolah is an Effort to Improve Community Welfare in Pekalongan Regency 72
Hesti Lestari, Dewi Rostyaningsih, R. Slamet Santoso
13. The Role and Participation of Village Youth in the PKK in Rimpak Village 81
Arif Kurnia Ardi Pradana, Hardi Warsono, Tri Yuniningsih
14. Generation Y on The Spot: Early Assessment of Millennial District Heads' Performance on Human Capital In Indonesian Districts 87
Bangkit A. Wiryawan, Rina Martini, Nur Hidayat Sardini
15. Tracking Down the Place in the Learning of the Everyday Nature 96
June Cahyaningtyas, Wening Udasmoro, Dicky Sofjan
16. Social Capital in The Development of Pancasila Jrahi Tourism Village Pati Regency 104
Wahma Dewi Bintari, Kismartini, Retno Sunu Astuti
17. The Effectiveness of Using Finger Prints in Supporting The Work Discipline of Educators at The Wachid Hasyim I Foundation 111
Dwi Hardaningtyas. Nur Holifah

- 
18. Analysis of Women's Participation in The Local Economy through Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) 117
Novita Maulida Ikmal, Indriasturi, Dwi Hardiningtyas
19. Biased Illustration of Women in Reporting Rape on Online News Portal 123
Wiwid Adiyanto
20. A Review of The Possibility of Gender-based Tidal Flood Mitigation in Indonesia: Pekalongan City as a Case Study 139
Hartuti Purnaweni, Kismartini, Titik Djumiarti, Mohd Hairy Ibrahim, Anis Qomariah
21. Study of Family Communication on Indonesian Films “Ngeri-Ngeri Sedap” 144
Mutia Rahmi Pratiwi, Amida Yusriana, Nuriyatul Lailiyah
- Category : Business and Innovation Revision and Redefinition**
22. Solo City Branding Strategy: As Cultural Tourism City to Attract Tourists 154
Robetmi Jumpakita Pinem, Saryadi, Widayanto
23. Regional Innovation Development Cooperation in Poverty Reduction (Case Study of Poverty Laboratory in Pekalongan Regency) 162
R. Slamet Santoso, Dewi Rostyaningsih, Hesti Lestari
24. Eco-Tourism Development Strategies to Achieve Sustainable Development Goals in Mangrove Park Pekalongan 170
Robetmi Jumpakita Pinem, Widayanto, Bagus Rahmanda
25. Analysis of Muslim-Friendly Tourism Development in Palembang City with ACCESS Model Attribute 176
Tri Yuniningsih, Ida Hayu Dwimawanti
26. The Advantages of Developing Renewable Energy Power Plants in Karimunjawa 185
Hartuti Purnaweni, Titik Djumiarti, Himawan Bagas Wirastomo



Category : International and Global Network for Policy and Cooperation

27. Breaking The Deadlock Formality of The International Convention Become Law	195
<i>Ricca Anggraeni</i>	
28. Enhancing Cultural Diplomacy through Export Creative Commodity : A Case of Nasrafa Brand	204
<i>Rr. Hermi Susiatiningsih, Dewi Setyaningsih, Muhammad Faizal Alfian</i>	
29. Indonesia 2045: Strategy toward a Global Power in The 21st Century	215
<i>Mohamad Rosyidin</i>	
30. Awaken the Dragon: Threat Analysis to China-US Relations over Taiwan	226
<i>Isti Nur Rahmahwati, Muhammad Arief Zulyan, Muhammad Faizal Alfian, Rahmat Syahid Suraya</i>	



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The Economy and People Development

Generation Y on the Spot: Early Assessment of Millennial District Heads' Performance on Human Capital in Indonesian Districts

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Abstract. Starting in the second round of local election, increasing number of millennial candidates are participating in the direct local election in Indonesia. This refers to a young demographic cohort born between 1981 and 1996, known to be more cosmopolitan compared to the previous generation. We gathered seventeen cases of elected millennial district heads between 2010 and 2017 and making an early observation of their impact on human capital development. Difference-in-difference estimation method is applied using province average as the control group. Results show that following the winning of the millennial leaders there is a diverging trend of Human Development Index score at 0.03 and 0.07 in the first and second year, consecutively, before started converging around the third and fourth year. Lacking leadership skills and experiences, that may also be perpetrated by generational gap, are among the contributing factors to the problem, while we so far unable to find significant negative impact of elite capture. We check the robustness of our result using poverty data and further find that millennial leaders are also under perform in combating poverty. This early assessment would benefit from further heterogeneity analyses as well as narrowing the control group, which is our recommendation for future research.

Keywords: Generation Y, millennials, local politics, direct election, human capital

1 Introduction

Three decades following the birth wave of Generation Y, a term that given to a group of demographic cohort born in 1982 or after [1], the now electorally decentralized Indonesian politics are gradually filled with these demographic cohort. Currently the millennial¹ constitute the largest in terms of population size, which reflects also voter size. Political coming of age is one of the main issues for this generation, with the growing tendency of apathy [3,4] on one hand and inexperience on the other hand.

Young leader phenomenon by itself is not new in Indonesia. The role of young leaders, here loosely categorized as those around 34-36 years of age at the time this research commenced, has been instrumental in securing the countries' independence in 1945 and leading its transformation into a consolidated republic. Among the most famous example of youth leadership was the election of General Soedirman as the commander of the army in November 1945 when he was just 29. Former Bandung Regent Wiranatakusumah, appointed when he was 35 in 1947, is another example as well as former Jakarta governor Henk Ngantung who was appointed into the position when he was 37 in 1964.

However, following political stability under the Suharto regime, the role of the youth in politics was not as prominent as it was in the early years of independence. Centralization of power for over 30 years under his regime did not allow for alternative leadership, not until 2005 when the first local election, at regencies and provinces, was held. Starting in the second round of local election in 2010 a number of young candidates from the same demographic cohorts, the millennials, are running for local executive offices as they reach political coming of age.

¹ Generation Y or also known as millennial is demographic group which is distinctively different with the Gen X before them. Tulgan [2] describes this group of youth as high-maintenance and difficult to motivate and manage, however he also addressed that this problem is nothing new and an often repeating feat between generations.

From theoretical point of view, the involvement of youth in political leadership can bring fresh perspectives and innovative ideas. This then results in policies that promote education, skills development, and other forms of human capital development. Young leaders also considered to be more responsive to political pressure [5], that leads to better policies mentioned. However, generational studies focusing on the millennials reveal some particular characteristics of Gen Y. Folarin [6] observes that this group of democratic cohort has a distinct leadership style that involves more collaboration and multitasking activities in addition to being more innovative and willing to spend longer time to achieve their goals. However, some of these characteristics of the millennials were also perceived in a negative light. Some of the negative characteristics of millennials include self-centered [7] as well as disloyal and lacking of work ethic [8].

Studies attempt to investigate the impact of millennial leaders on local politics and development in Indonesia is still limited. Larger body of literature [9], [10], [11], [12], discuss the role of this generation as political participants and none that the authors know discusses their role in an executive office position. Thus, this research offers to fill the gap in the literature and shed some light for decision makers taking interest on the role of these young leaders in the society. The focus on human capital issues is chosen as this area is currently one of the focus of President Jokowi administration, that is embedded in his current Five Year Plan (RPJMN 2019-2024). Studying the role of millennial leaders in this issue, thus, can provide comprehensive understanding on how to treat such leadership. This research poses the question of how has elected millennial district heads affected human capital development at the Indonesian districts? How does experience plays role in how they perform in this area?

Giving attention to this group of leaders based empirical evidence is important at least in two ways. First, it gives understanding on the impact of youth in practical politics particularly the current one known as Generation Y. Second, it supplies information on how well they are able to quell with tasks related to socio-economic development. This is important as this generation will be the one that shapes the future of leadership not only at executive offices but also in the other positions.

Table 1. List of Millennial district heads and year of inauguration

No.	Name of district head	Inauguration year	Age	District	Province
1	Mardani Maming	2010	29	Kab. Tanah Bumbu	Kalimantan Selatan
2	Yopi Arianto	2010	30	Kab. Indragiri Hulu	Riau
3	Makmun Ibnu Fuad	2013	26	Kab. Bangkalan	Jawa Timur
4	Puput Tantriana Sari	2013	30	Kab. Probolinggo	Jawa Timur
5	Yan Anton Ferdian	2013	29	Kab. Banyuasin	Sumatera Selatan
6	Umar Ahmad	2014	33	Kab. Tulang Bawang Barat	Lampung
7	Mardani Maming	2016	34	Kab. Tanah Bumbu	Kalimantan Selatan
8	Emil Dardak	2016	31	Kab. Trenggalek	Jawa Timur
9	Sutan Riska	2016	26	Kab. Dharmasraya	Sumatera Barat
10	Muhammad Syahril	2016	28	Kab. Tanjung Balai	Sumatera Utara
11	Adnan Purichta	2016	29	Kab. Gowa	Sulawesi Selatan
12	Mirna Annisa	2016	34	Kab. Kendal	Jawa Tengah
13	Ahmad Wazir Noviadi	2016	28	Kab. Ogan Ilir	Sumatera Selatan
14	Neneng Hasanah	2017	36	Kab. Bekasi	Jawa Barat
15	Ahmadi	2017	36	Kab. Bener Meriah	Aceh
16	Adriatma Dwi Putra	2017	28	Kota Kendari	Sulawesi Tenggara
17	Karolin Margret Natasa	2017	35	Kab. Landak	Kalimantan Barat

Note: Kab. stands for kabupaten (regency), an administrative unit one level below the province led by a regent. Kota is municipality with similar administrative level as kabupaten, led by a mayor.

Source: Author

In the effort to answer above questions, we gathered a non-exhaustive list of millennial district heads that spans in three waves of local election. The list is shown in Table 1. It covers data for the years from 2010 to 2017 within the time frame of second and third local election. We managed to collect seventeen elected leaders spanning across 12 provinces in Indonesia. Their age range is from the youngest at 26 years old in 2013, to 35 years old in 2017. As their involvement in politics grew as they grow older, number of young leaders increased starting in 2016 at around the time they reach mature age late 20s or early to mid 30s.

The research's focus on executive branch of leadership is due to their more hands-on role in terms of progressing development, and also higher political complexity when compared to the election of district legislative. Provinces' governor is excluded in this list for two main reasons. First, none of them are from the Gen Y at the time of this research time frame. Secondly is the methodological reason as it is more appropriate not to mix province and district in our analysis as the two are different level of administration with different sets of responsibilities as well as political dynamics.

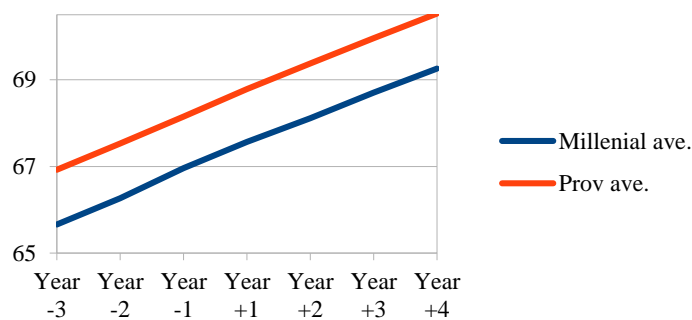
It is important to note here that this study does not try, in whatsoever way, to provide a complete unbiased result as this current research is still in its preliminary stage. Some sources of bias that may contaminate this research is discussed briefly in the method section. The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In the next section we elaborate our methods and data source in carrying this research. The third section deals with results, that includes also robustness check using alternative measure of development. And finally, the last section concludes this research.

2 Research method

This research uses quantitative descriptive method that closely resembles difference-in-difference (DID) estimation [13],[14]. DID approach entails two way differencing between treatment period and treatment group. Firstly we set the treatment period using the inauguration year information from Table 1. Then it is followed by gathering human capital data three years before and four years after the treatment year. This provides one half of the necessary DID data. The other half of the data is the control group. Considering the preliminary stage of this research, here we use provinces' data as the control group. Subsequent research will try to select appropriate and matching control group at the same district level.

$$HDI = \sqrt[3]{HI \times EI \times Exp} \times 100 \quad (1)$$

The main human capital data used in this research is the Indeks Pembangunan Manusia (Human Development Index, HDI) released yearly by the Statistics Indonesia. The construction of HDI data follows similar measure by UNDP which divides human capital into three main components; health, education, and expenditure. Data on life expectancy at birth is used to represent health aspect (HI). For education data, mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling are combined (EI). Lastly, individual expenditure (Exp) is also considered as part of human capital quality, indicates that the higher ones expenditure the higher their human capital. To calculate the HDI data, the formula above in equation (1) is used.



Note: The graph compares overall Human Development Index score between districts led by millennial leaders and their respective province average, while Year indicates relative years to local election
Source: Authors

Fig. 1. Yearly HDI Score Relative to Local Election

However simply taking the absolute number of IPM does not leave us with a meaningful result. Figure 1 shows that the dynamics between the treated and control group is considerably small that in general we could only see similar progression between groups, thus might lead to inappropriate conclusion. To overcome this issue we then

resort to taking yearly change of the data (in percentage). Differencing the data gives a more dynamic picture of human capital development at Indonesian districts.

Table 2 illustrates how the data is arranged in order to attain between group differences. At the first stage, difference between the post election period and pre election period for the treated group is calculated ($B - A$). This result resembles the effect of the election but is biased as it did not control for other confounding factors. To control for other contributing factors, it is necessary to take the second difference comparing pre and post data for the control group ($Y - X$). Finally, we calculate the difference between the two groups as shown in the bottom right of the table.

Table 2. Treatment Effect Measurement Matrix

Group	Pre-election	Post-election	Difference
Treated	A	B	1st difference $B - A$
Control	X	Y	2nd difference $Y - X$
			Net difference $(B - A) - (Y - X)$

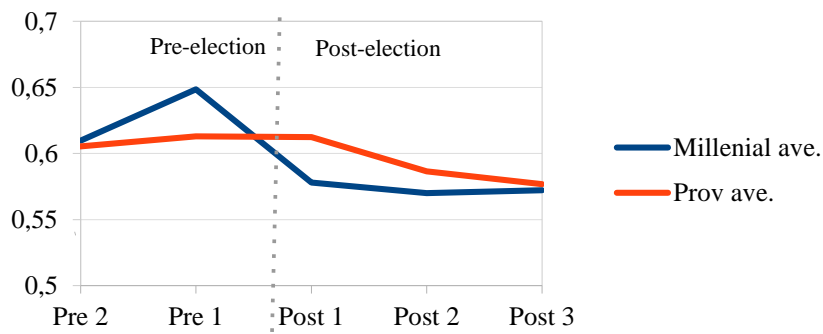
In supporting our finding, as robustness check, we compare our result using human capital with poverty data. This is also yearly data released by the Statistics of Indonesia. Survey for poverty data starts in March, with subsequent second round of survey in August. The data presents number of impoverished people according to provinces criteria, measured as a share of population (%) at the district level.

As previously mentioned, this preliminary research applies descriptive approach and thus it is not designed to handle major bias methodologically. Sources of bias includes omitted variables as this research does not allow controlling for other necessary variables that explain the output phenomenon. Second possible source of bias is the violation of SUTVA, which stands for stable unit treatment value assumption. This is an important assumption in studying causal effect [15]. Related to the previous problem, this research also does not able to sufficiently perform parallel trend assumption test which is essential in a DID research to establish causal connection[15]. One way to overcome this problem is by applying propensity scoring matching techniques. These issues will be considered in our follow up research in the near future.

3 Results and discussion

Our simple two-way differencing method using human capital data as the dependent variable results in the Figure 1 below. The figure expands the simple pre and post period calculation shown in Table 2 to include more years before as well as after. We compare between millennial-led districts (blue line) with their province average (red line). The distance between the two line becomes our DID score.

We can observe from the figure that actually two years before local election both group shows positive growth of HDI, despite the growth is much smaller for province average. However, interestingly following the local election where millennial leaders triumph, the growth in HDI started to fall below province average in year +1. The drop carried over to the second and third year. The provinces, while share the same declining progression, do not fall as deep as the treated group in the first and second year after local election. The figure shows that starting in the third year there is a tendency of convergence between the groups.



Note: The graph compares point changes in HDI score between districts led by millennial leaders and their respective province average. Pre indicates bi-yearly average score before local election, while post indicates bi-yearly average score after local election.

Source: Authors

Fig. 2. HDI Growth Relative to Local Election (smoothed)

Upon knowing the negative result compared to the control group as described above, this study continues to explore further. Experience is shown to be quite a determinant factor in leadership quality. Figure 3 shows group difference between provinces and millennial-led districts. In this case we select older cohorts of leaders aged 30 or over, and fit them into the reduced form. It shows that these older youths do not exhibit the same tendency as shown previously. The growth between the group in the period before and after the election are very similar even though small difference exist. Following positive growth in HDI in the first year, it started to decline in the second and third year for both groups.

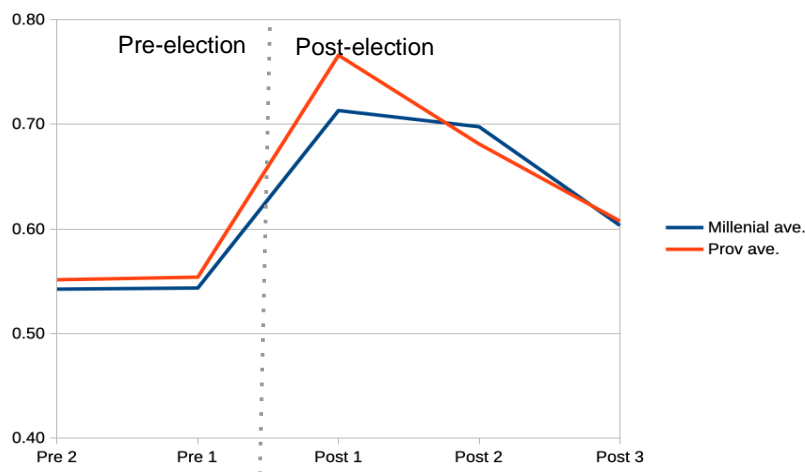
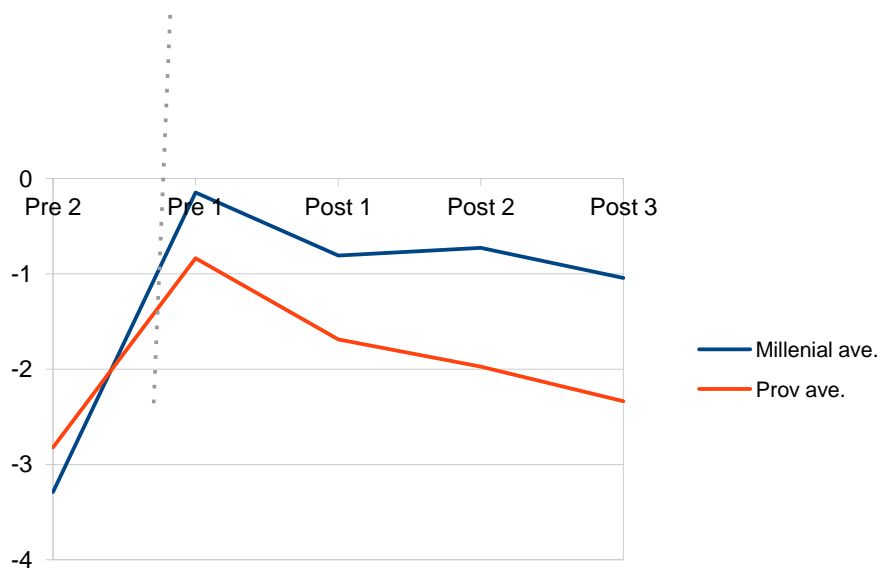


Fig. 3. HDI Growth Relative to Local Election for Older Millennial Leaders (smoothed)

Result using HDI data shows that there is considerable widening gap between the election of millennial local leaders and human capital quality. The gap tend to be narrowing close to the five years administrative period, but apparent in the first three years. One might suspect that the result is bias to other factors such as rural-urban bias. To check for result consistency we compare result shown in Figure 1 using poverty data for the same time period.

Figure 3 shows growth of poverty rate between the treated and the control group. Lower score indicates lower incidence of poverty in the districts, while higher score means higher poverty rate. From the figure we can see that districts led by millennial leaders exhibit higher poverty compared to their provinces average. In the period after local election, we can observe that in both group share of poverty decreases. However it shows a slight divergence starting in the second year while poverty rates keep decreasing in the control group.



Note: The graph shows yearly growth (%) of poverty between districts led by millennial leaders and their respective province average, with Pre indicates bi-yearly average score before local election and post indicates bi-yearly average score after local election

Fig. 3. Poverty growth relative to local election (smoothed)

This research finds negative trend of human capital growth under millennial leaders. Using different dataset, HDI and poverty data, we find similar results. However, we need to remind again here that our model is a preliminary one, that does not adequately control from several sources of bias. A possible source of bias is urban-centered development across provinces. The treatment group entails district-level data, with only one urban predominant case (Kendari City). This could left us with poor data for district compared to urban (cities), although this still does not explain differences before and after the election.

Despite the concern above, this result still provides merit for discussion. Our finding echoes general sentiment on the characteristics of Generation Y, such as their tendency for multitasking and willingness to spend more time to achieve their goals [6]. The divergence result with the control group as shown in Figure 2 could be the manifestation of this issue. In this instance, the argument by Marston [8] about the lack of work ethic of the millennials can be attributed to the result. However, our follow up exercise seem to suggest that this issue disappears as leaders' experiences increase, as demonstrated by Figure 3. Older millennial district heads, age over 30, do not show significant departure from their provinces' average in terms of human capital growth. Interestingly enough, this age level is the requirements for governorship candidacy.

Results imply that younger leaders do not have sufficient quality to sustain their leadership style. From a policy point of view, it is then necessary to impose age limit as a requirement for running in the local election. Current regulation limit the age of district-level leader at 25 years old. We recommend that in order to prevent development lag, district age limit should be the same with province level that is 30 years old.

4 Conclusion

Studies focusing on millennial politics in Indonesia is still dominated by their role as participants, while research on the performance of millennial district leaders is still scarce. This study attempts to fill this gap in the literature by looking at the impact of seventeen Gen Y leadership on human capital development between 2010 and 2017. In general we find negative tendency of human capital growth under the millennial leaders, using their provinces as the control group. HDI growth in the treated group is 0.04 lower than the control group. It shows small change but the trend is consistent. The finding is robust when we use alternative measurement of development, poverty data. Poverty grew around 1% higher in the districts led by the millennials We find that this problem seems to waning away as the leaders get older, suggesting strong effect of experiences as well as maturity. This leads to us

suggesting for adding age limit as one of the requirements for running for local executive office. Our finding is subject to various possible bias that is not sufficiently addressed, at least not this moment. Some of this concern will be addressed in the subsequent research in the near future.

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